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|   | INFOF  | MATION                          | REPORT  | CD NO.            |                |                 |          |
| COUNTRY   | USSR (Lithuanian SSR)  |                                 |   | DATE DIS          | STR.           | 9 March         | 1951     |
| SUBJECT   | Merale, Attitudes, and in Lithuania  | FOR CRITICAL                    | tions<br>SECURITY FEASONS<br>NOT TO BE FU. THER   | NO. OF F          | PAGES          | 7               |          |
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#### Morale

- 1. The efforts of the Soviets to raise the standard of living do not curb the desire of Lithuanians for freedom. The constant fear of arrest or deportation and the general feeling of insecurity counteract all these Soviet efforts. The following factors have largely contributed to the strong anti-Soviet feelings of the Lithuanians:
  - a. In 1944, after their second occupation of Lithuania, the Soviets started mass arrests and deportations which were continued once or twice each year until 1949.
  - b. Lithuanians can see easily for themselves that Soviet propaganda simply does not correspond with the truth. In their official propaganda, the Soviets boast about their great achievements in economic him, about the building of new factories and raising of the standard of living. However, the Lithuanians enjoyed a better standard of living during their independence and still remember it. The hollowness of many Soviet claims is readily demonstrated when a factory reportedly completed is still not functioning.
  - The certainty on the part of Lithuanians that the conflict between the East and Mest can only be solved by war upholds their morale and strengthens their patriotic and anti-Soviet feelings. To Lithuanians, war means liberation and freedom. Their attitude might change if an agreement between the East and Mest was in the offing or if they could see no hope of future liberation. In 1947, for example, there was a feeling in Lithuania that things might remain as they were indefinitely; hence, the Lithuanians tried to accommodate themselves to the Soviet regime. Since then their outlook has changed.

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- d. The family remains the stronghold of lithuanian life. It is the family, not the school, which has the greater influence on the new generation. Spying by children upon their parents and denotating them to the authorities is still unknown in Lithuania. However, even the schools have not been able to Sovietize sufficiently. The teachers are still the same Lithuanians and the children know quite well that one thing is spoken while another is thought or felt, and they act accordingly. The people, including the teachers, have learned to disguise their true feelings, and the pupils know and understand this.
- e. The fact that many of the higher posts are occupied by Soviets in proves clearly to the people that the Lithuanian Soviet Republic is merely fiction and that, in reality, the country is occupied by a foreign power.
- f. The constant sense of fear and insecurity caused by the Soviet regime has a deterring effect on the number of persons joining the Communist ranks.
- 2. One of the greatest aids to the Soviet cause, as the Lithuanians see it, is their quasi-"sponsoring" of national culture, education, exploitation of national feeling, organization and sponsoring of national theaters, choirs, arts, and music.
- 3. A desire for freedom, and the expectation of another war are the thoughts uppermost in the minds of the people. They would be willing to pay any price just to be free, including another military devastation of their country.
- 4. Events in Korea aroused great hope in the beginning. They were expected to develop into a third World War. President Truman's resultant speech was discussed. However, the people were bewildered when the Americans started to retreat. Therein lies a very great danger. If war should break out suddenly and there be no guidance from abroad and no established contacts, spontaneous uprisings are very likely to take place with all the inevitable consequences, such as premature destruction by the Soviet Army of the national forces and internal strife caused by partisans in which completely innocent people might suffer.

## Relationship with Soviets

5. Apart from opposition to the Soviet system, there is also very strong resentment of the many Soviets living in Lithuania, particularly administration officials, factory managers, and factory workers (especially women), who represent a privileged, well-to-do class. The Soviets do not, as a rule, trust any Lithuanians or sympathize with them. They are entirely pro-Soviet. A few Lithuanian girls have married Soviets, usually officers, who deserted them when transferred to other posts. However, Lithuanian men never marry Soviets.

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|             |   | 50X1-I   |
|             | Attitude Toward the Communist Party   | ;        |
| 70          | Very few Lithuanian peasants belong to the Party; in the towns it is different. In some instances the Bolshevists do compel townspeople and villagers such as officials or teachers to join the Party, but this is not the general rule. Much depends upon the local Party Committee. Even when urgently pressed to join the Party, some can and do refuse to do so; others join for reasons of opportunism. In a instance in which someone has joined the Party as a means of protection, because in practice it is not a safeguard but may be quite the reverse. Anyone joining the Party of his own free will is generally regarded as a scoundrel. However, many good people have been forced to do so. These people, even though officially Bolshevists, say and do one thing but think otherwise. For this reason some Party members, including those who occupy higher positions, are regarded as good Lithuanians and true patriots. In the final analysis, the attitude of Lithuanians toward Party men or people in higher positions depends very much upon how they behave and whether or not they have sold themselves entirely to the Bolshevists. | 50X1-H   |
|             | Attitude Towards Poles, Latvians, and Estonians   |          |
| 8.          | The attitude towards the Poles is still one of distrust, and they do not want any union with them. Lithuanians are extremely cautious in this respect very definite assurances would be required before their distrust could be overcome.   | ž į      |
| 9.          | Lithuanians would fight to the utmost to defend their capital, Vilnius. They would also do everything possible to defend their 1920 frontiers, and they feel just as strongly about their Baltic seaport of Klaipeds as about Vilnius. Similarly, they would be ready to move into the new province in East Prussia, the Soviet Kaliningrad area, which is called "Little Lithuania" There are many Lithuanian inhabitants in the area.   | <b>™</b> |
| <b>10</b> . | The attitude toward Estonians and Latvians remains as friendly as ever; close cooperation with them is regarded favorably and is entirely approved by all.  |          |
|             | Party Politics and Political Trends   |          |
| 11.         | The former political parties are no longer popular. Political division on party lines no longer exists. All the people want is independence. They want a return to the former independent Lithuania, even though they know that all was not well under Smetona. The general trend may be described as national. The workers are also nationalistic, and do not feel that they form  |          |

- a class separate from any other Lithuanians. Nationalism predominates over Catholicism, although religious feeling is stronger than it used to be.
- 12. Their goals include improved conditions for everyone, worker or peasant. It

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is evident that in the event of liberation the peasants, who are now suffering more than anyone else, would immediately return to their old individual farms and take over their former properties. Nevertheless, it is generally recognized that a new land reform would be necessary for a more equal division of land among the peasants, reducing the previous limit of 150 hectares (80 hectares in 1922) to 50 hectares, thus providing more land for those whose farms were too small(5-10-15 hectares) to support them and their families. The people also feel that some of the Bolshevist social reforms such as free health service might well be retained. At present, hospital treatment for workers and peasants is free, and they would like it to remain so in future.

- 13. The Bolshevist slogans of social equality leave the Lithuanians unmoved.

  The Bolshevists talk of there being no more lords now, but the people can see that these have been replaced by new ones who are of ordinary stock and who have little knowledge about anything.
- The public knows little of what is happening among Lithuanians abroad, and party politics or party differences are beyond their understanding. No Lithuanian newspaper published abroad reaches Lithuania except by chance, as was once the case when a parcel came wrapped in an old Lithuanian newspaper. It was cherished as something almost sacred. Only when Prayda writes in condemnation of someone abroad do the people realize that he must be active and probably doing something of value for the national cause. Thus, Prayda's articles have an entirely different effect from the one intended. There is no ill-feeling toward the refugees who left the country in 1940 or 1941. The popular belief is that they will return and, together with those who remained, rebuild the new Lithuania.
- 15. The actual form of any future government is not given much thought; the predominate feeling is that anything done should further the Lithuanian cause. It is probable that official national figures now abroad might have a greater following and enjoy more confidence than someone who might be regarded as only a party politician. On the other hand, the partisans have always thought that they alone have the moral right to govern Lithuania in the future, rather than those who stayed in safety abroad or lived quietly in the towns and collaborated with the Occupation. Other members of the public do not share these feelings. However, what the emigres have to offer on their return will determine their position in the scheme of things.

# General Living Conditions

- 16. Life in Lithuania is not completely intolerable. Material conditions have been considerably easier for everyone except the peasants since the currency reform. The constant sense of insecurity and fear of deportation are the chief causes of unrest. There is resignation to the fact that one cannot avoid deportation; no one knows when it may be his turn or who will be next on the list.
- 17. People are silent and avoid talking unless they are perfectly sure of one another, Anyone who talks too much or who criticizes the present system is immediately suspected of being a provocateur. It is extremely difficult to bribe anyone for any purpose because of this danger. One can never be sure that the person approached will not report to the militia, and then be allowed by the security police to continue the association in order to find out where it leads. This same caution also applies to any resistance activities. There is the constant danger that a person approaching a member of the resistance is a provocateur sent by the militia. If such is the case, the person contacted should report it to the militia in order to avoid suspicion. On the other hard if such persons are reported indiscriminately, an innocent person may be betrayed.

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18. The partisans have ferbidden dancing in the villages, and there is little meed for it. Dance parties are arranged in the towns, but they are attended mostly by Soviets. The privileged class lives well and appears quite well dressed; theaters are full (4th row seats cost 40 rubles). The rest go about their work patiently waiting for something to happen.

## Mevement of the Population

19. The movement of the population from the land to the towns has been considerable. Collectivization and the new currency reforms have contributed greatly to this situation, since the peasants were most affected by them. Another contributing factor is that more money can be earned in factories in the towns than from the land. Younger men and girls seem particularly disposed to looking for work in the towns. Relatives of partisans are also leaving their farms and going to the towns to escape deportation. They may avoid discovery if they are careful and do not reveal the truth to their neighbors.

## Depertations

- Deportations have taken place once or twice a year; the last known were in March and June 1949. Many small children died of the cold in unheated cattle cars during the deportations of February 1948. The general estimate is that from 1944 to 1949 about 100,000 people were deported. The deportations in 1949 (approximately 20,000) were smaller than the infamous deportations of June 1941. Exact calculation of the number deported is difficult because no definite pattern seems to be followed. People are deported from different areas at different times. The districts most affected were those where the partisan movement was strongest and most active. For example, in the Prienai district whole villages were cleared out, while elsewhere perhaps only two or three persons were deported.
- 21. All classes are subject to deportation: peasants, workers, officials, and professors. In later years, particularly in 1948 and 1949, those affected were mostly the farmers who had shown reluctance to join the collective farms. More prosperous farmers, relatives of partisans, and members of the underground movement were and still are more likely to be deported than anyone else.
- When people are deported from Lithuania, in or around kinsk the windows and doors of the trains are opened and large inscriptions such as "Velunteers for kussia" are put on the rail cars. The deportees are taken to Siberia; apparently there are no groups of Lithuanian nationals elsewhere in the USSR. In Siberia, they are trought together in the Altai region, where they live in groups on collective farms. Deportees who are not sentenced to forced labor are sometimes able to granize their lives fairly decently; some could return to Lithuania if they could raise the money. Others who have returned are living there illegally, and consecuently are faced with the problem of concealing their identity.

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| 23, | Conditions experienced by deportees sentenced to forced labor in remote   |
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|     | camps are extremely difficult, but they are permitted to write home and   |
|     | to receive parcels. After August 1949, treatment of prisoners seemed to   |
|     | improve. The Lithuanians believed this to be the result of the campaign   |
|     | abroad against the Soviet system of concentration camps and forced labor. |
|     | Deportees' letters told of better accommodations and food, and even that  |
|     | prisoners were starting to receive pay. The following are examples of     |
|     | improved conditions:  |

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a. A man sentenced to 10 years' forced labor,

was working at a 'hite Sea port loading timper. It was possible for his wife, with a friend who acted as an interpreter, to visit him. Conditions were quite tolerable. The men worked eight hours per day. Two people were assigned to a room; they even had beds with sheets.

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b. A man sentenced to 15 years' forced labor wrote that he was ill. After five years, he wrote again that he had been released from the camp and was permitted to move about freely; however, he had to report every day to the militia and was not allowed to leave the town.

## Trials

24. There have been some public trials of partisans in Kaunas, Vilnius, Alytus, and Petrasiunai. These partisans, mostly peasant youths, were sentenced to death. After the death sentence was abolished, most of the partisans and resistance members received sentences of 25 years? forced labor. The death sentence was reintroduced in 1950.

#### Soviets in Lithuania

- 25. There are no Soviet colonists in the provinces, and it has not been possible for any of them to settle down on farms formerly belonging to Lithuanians because of the immediate action taken against them by the partisans. In most instances Soviet peasants settled only on the state objective farms (covahozy' Most of the Soviets seen in the small villages are members of the militia, security police officials, or are attached to a troop contingent.
- 26. The stationmasters at the larger railroad stations are Soviets; but it smaller ones, such as Jonava, Amaliai, and Palemonas, they are Lithuanians.

  Minor railway officials are Lithuanians.
- There are Soviet workers in the factories, especially women, who have been attracted to Lithuania by better living conditions. They are permitted to enter the country and to remain there.
- 28. The Soviets form a privileged group of officials, party officers, and skilled workers. In principle, the Soviets have no special privileges, but actually, in offices and factories where the directors or managers are Soviets, Soviet workers do get preferent all treatment. In instances where the senfor administrative or industrial post is still held by a Lithuanian, his deputy is always a Soviet who actually has much greater power than his superior.
- Soviets in the universities are usually the professors on political subjects, such as Marxism-Leninism. The Russian language is taught in all schools, five hours a week in the elementary schools, and six hours a week in the secondary or high schools. Nevertheless, it is not necessary in Lithuania for everyone to know or understand the language; people in the provinces who do speak Russian pretend not to understand it. On the whole, however.

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it cannot be denied that Sovietization is slowly progressing.

# Communist Indoctrination

- 30. Marxist-Leninist propaganda is preached to the people constantly. It is even one of the subjects taught in the Kaunas Catholic Theological Seminary, where there were some 40 seminarians in 1949.
- 31. All doctors who received diplomas before Lithuania lost its independence have been obliged to exchange them for new ones issued by the Soviets after passing examinations in Marxism-Leninism. Afterward, they were still obliged to attend a two-year course at a Marxist-Leninist Institute.
- 32. Theatrical productions are all concerned with propaganda, and there are theatrical companies of young people, such as the "Sniegute" (Snow White), who visit villages and conduct anti-American propaganda by putting on shows depicting the miserable life of negroes in the United States.
- 33. Propagarda to recruit members for the Pioneers or the Communist Youth movement was started in the schools in 1948-49. Children are reluctant to join the Pioneers, and when children do belong to the organization it is usually an indication that the parents are Communists. It sometimes happened however, that a whole class in a school is recorded as having joined the Pioneers; but this may be done for propaganda purposes even though everyone has not actually taken the oath. As a rule, the oath is administered by members of the Communist Youth. The Sovietization of Lithuanian youth is not complete; at one high school, for example, only 25 out of 400 pupils belonged to the Communist Youth in 1950.

#### Foreign Broadcasts

3h. It is not officially forbidden to listen to foreign broadcasts, but one does not talk about them, except to very good friends. A six-tube radio set costs about 800 rubles; good ones are made in Riga, Sets must be registered at the post office, and yearly fees paid. In 1945, all sets were ordered to be brought to designated collecting points. Many people hid theirs and did not comply. Permission to own sets was officially granted in the summer of 1947. At that time a second request was made for registration of sets; this time most people complied. Those who retained their sets without registering them and who tried to do so now would find themselves in trouble or incur a fine. The people are discouraged because there are no broadcasts from abroad in Lithmanian.